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Speech of  
Col. Lewis V. Bogy,  
Democratic nominee for  
Congress.





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Book 33





SPEECH  
OF  
COL. LEWIS V. BOGY,

THE  
DEMOCRATIC NOMINEE FOR CONGRESS,

IN THE  
FIRST DISTRICT.

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Delivered at the Rotunda, May 27, 1852.

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S. T. Armstrong

*Journal of the Proceedings of the Democratic Convention of the City and County of St. Louis, 1846*

PURSUANT to notice, previously given by publication, a large number of the citizens of this city and county assembled in the Rotunda of the Court House to hear from Col. BOGGS, the Democratic nominee for Congress from this District, his views upon such political and sectional matters as interest our citizens.

On motion of CHRISTIAN KRIBBEN, Esq., the meeting was organized by TRUSTEN POLK, Esq., being called to the Chair.

The Chairman, upon taking his seat, stated that the object for which the meeting had assembled was to hear the views of Col. BOGGS, the Democratic nominee for Congress.

To fully organize the meeting, on motion, WM. PALM was appointed Vice President, and DANIEL H. DONOVAN, Secretary.

Col. BOGGS was then called to the stand, and addressed the meeting in substance as follows :

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*Gentlemen of the City and County of St. Louis :*

I have often spoken from this stand before, but this, I think, is the first time that I have appeared to speak in behalf of myself. I have heretofore spoken to promote the views of some friend, or the success of the principles which I entertain. I come now before you, gentlemen, to speak of myself—to announce to you the fact, already known to you, no doubt, that I am a candidate for Congress from this District—to announce the reasons and causes which made me a candidate, and the reasons why I shall claim the support of the Democracy of this District.

Gentlemen, I say without any affectation, that in presenting myself to you for a position of this kind, I do it with the greatest diffidence imaginable. No one is better satisfied than myself that I have no experience in public affairs, that I do not possess that knowledge which is necessary, and that I have not those shining talents that are calculated to distinguish the man who may occupy a position in the Congress of the United States. Hence, in appearing before you, asking for a position so lofty, I do it with great diffidence. A seat in the Congress of the United States is an honorable position. Indeed, I look upon it as one of the

most distinguished in the world. It is true, a great many very ordinary men are elected to that position, yet it must be remembered that the Congress of the United States is the only body in the world that legislates for a nation of freemen. If we cast our gaze over the human family and see the governments which exist amongst men, in all the countries of the world, we find there oppression bearing down on the energies of the people, keeping down their lofty aspirations, and crushing the soul of men. And knowing the fact that the Government of the United States is the only one in existence calculated to promote the prosperity and secure the happiness of the people, I say then that a seat in that Congress, although the gentleman who may occupy it may be but an humble member, is one of the most honorable positions on the earth, and one of the most distinguished in society. I seek that high position, and it is right I should let you know, in presenting myself as a candidate, that I have not become so from my own choice. My political friends have thought proper to place me in that position, and when I was designated for it I felt it my duty to accept, and I did so with feelings of deep gratitude.

I do not come here for the purpose of building myself up by destroying and tearing down other men, and though it will be my purpose to speak with candor, yet I shall also speak with feelings of liberality. I will explain to you the position which the Democratic party has occupied for the last three or four years, and also the position of some distinguished men who have heretofore acted with the Democraey. I shall demonstrate to you that if these men are permitted to have their own way much longer, the party will be broken into fragments and scattered to the winds.

Gentlemen, it is known to you that there are three candidates in the field. The Whigs have nominated Mr. Caruthers, a gentleman with whom I am well acquainted, and a man of superior talent and excellent abilities. Of him I shall have but little to say to-night. It is known that Col. Benton is a candidate without a nomination, and it is also known that I am the nominee of a regularly appointed Democratic convention in this District, representing a large majority of the people in the District.

I will not, to-night, say any thing which may be offensive to Col. Benton. He has occupied a lofty position for many years—has sat in the Senate as one of the most distinguished men in the

country, and it is but doing him justice to say, that he acquired, in that position, much distinction, and it is not my purpose to detract any from the fame which he has acquired—to tear from his brow one laurel which adds to the lustre of his fame. I am not such a man. I came here to promote my own interest at the expense of no one personally. But I say now, that Col. Benton stands, at the present time, in the position of a disorganizer, and that he is, in truth, and in fact, no Democrat—that he agrees with us in no principle whatever. (Applause.)

It is proper that I should state something with reference to myself, that I may be well understood. A short time ago, Col. Benton made a speech at Jackson, and it was announced in one of the papers that I would be there to reply to him; but it so happened, on account of sickness, that I could not reach that point. My friends were much dissatisfied because I had not gone thither, and it was reported that I was afraid to meet him. Now, I owe it to myself to say, that I am not afraid to meet Col. Benton, nor any man living; and I owe it to my friends to say, that I pledged myself not to avoid a meeting with him. Thus far, Col. Benton has not spoken of me unkindly. I have not heard that he has treated me with any personal indignity; yet, if during the canvass I should be assailed personally, I certainly will repel the charge, and if the contest is to be carried on on personal grounds, I will not avoid it, but will meet him in any shape and manner he chooses. If war must exist, I will be in the war, and will carry the war into Africa, as it is said, to the very gates of Carthage, and there I will plant my standard, and there be the conqueror or the conquered. But passing from this, gentlemen, I say that in all likelihood Col. Benton and I will not meet in this canvass; he will not meet me at my appointments, and should I go to him, his speeches will be so long that should I attempt to speak in reply, I should be compelled to speak to an empty house. I therefore think it improbable, not that I believe that he is afraid to meet me any more than I believe that I am afraid to meet him. But I will now pass from this personal explanation, and speak of matters of more importance to the Democratic party.

For years past the Democracy of the State has been divided. In 1849, a series of resolutions were introduced into the Legislature instructing Col. Benton to vote in the Senate on certain mat-

ters in a certain manner. Col. Benton appealed from those resolutions, and since that time the party has been divided so that the Whigs, being in the minority, have elected their Senator and members of Congress, and are now stronger in the State than they have ever been before. This division spread throughout the length and breadth of the State, and a bitter feeling of hostility—a deadly feud, sprung up between the two wings of the party.

Such was the situation of the Democratic party, and early last winter an effort was made to unite it, and it was agreed that a convention should be held. The fact was published throughout the length and breadth of the State—in every county the people were informed of it, and every man knew of it. When the convention met, eighty or ninety counties out of one hundred were represented in it. I myself was a member of that convention, and we met as Democrats, firmly determined to unite the party. The convention sat three days. A majority of the members of the convention were of the Benton party, and a minority of them belonged to the true Democracy. Our object was not to build up any man, nor to tear down any man; and I can speak in behalf of the convention, that it was composed of old and true Democrats, though Col. Benton has taught people to stigmatize them as unworthy members of the party, as turn-coats, renegades and nullifiers, as old Whigs turned young Democrats, and all of the most opprobrious epithets the English language affords; yet the truth is, nevertheless, the convention was composed of respectable men—of honorable men—of men of high standing both in public and private life, and equally so as was Col. Benton or any body else. We held the discussion with candor and with liberality; there was no bitter quarrel. Every member appeared actuated by no motive but to unite the party, and the result was that the convention did unite. We laid down a platform to which every member agreed, and without a dissenting voice; though a few members did vote against it as a body, yet all were in favor of it separately. What was the result? Col. Benton says that the convention was pledged to nominate for Governor his friend, Gen. T. L. Price. No such pledge was made, either publicly or privately; it was never given in any shape, way or manner.

We did not meet them to nominate favorites, but to unite the party upon principles which were Democratic, and which had

been recognized to be Democratic since the days of Thomas Jefferson. After the platform was adopted, the convention went into nominations, and out of the seven State officers, the friends of Col. Benton are the candidates for four. They had a majority in the convention, and had it in their power to nominate whom they pleased, and if Thomas L. Price was not the nominee, it was owing to the fact that the Benton men thought fit to sacrifice him. There was no breach of contract there. It was true, I did not vote for him, for we had rights, as members of that convention, to vote for whom we pleased, and we did not choose to vote for Thos. L. Price, as many of the friends of Col. Benton did not, but voted for another gentleman of the same name, and who is a friend of Col. Benton, and who came forward and subscribed to the platform and adopted it. He agreed with us in opinion, and was the nominee of the convention. All of the other nominees also agreed with us, and after they were made, Gen. T. L. Price, who had been defeated, made a speech pledging himself, as a good Democrat, to abide the nominations, and stand upon that platform as a final settlement of the difficulties of the Democratic party.

That platform, gentlemen, is not long, and it is right that I should read and explain it. I wish the Democrats of this county to understand what that platform is, and to know how Col. Benton stands in relation to it. I desire to decide the great question whether Col. Benton is or is not a Democrat. If these principles are Democratic, and Col. Benton does not subscribe to them, great as he is, and great as his services have been, he is no Democrat, because a man cannot be a Democrat who refuses to recognize the principles of Democracy.

Now gentlemen, I venture to say that no Democrat within the hearing of my voice, no man who pretends to understand the principles of the party, will object to a single word contained in the platform laid at Jefferson. In it there is nothing new advanced; there is no new fangled doctrine embraced in it, but they are the same old and glorious principles asserted by Mr. Jefferson, and carried out by Mr. Jefferson, Mr. Madison, Mr. Monroe, General Jackson and Mr. Polk. In it are the same ancient land marks which have kept together the Democratic party and made it triumphant for more than fifty years of our independence—which have lead this country from infancy to greatness—from weakness to strength—and we still maintain those principles.

But Col. Benton says the platform is too small for a big man to stand upon. Gentlemen, Jefferson stood on that platform, and he was a man of gigantic proportions; Jackson stood also on it, and he was a mighty man in his day, and it was large enough for him; and more than all, the great Democratic party, which has had the majority in this land a greater part of the time, has stood on that platform, and that party is greater than Col. Benton can possibly be. (Applause.) Yet, broad, strong and deep as it is, it is not sufficiently broad, strong and deep enough for him. He says it is too small for a big man to stand upon, and doubtless that very big man is himself. Here it is:

1. *Resolved*, That we adhere to and re-affirm the principles embodied in the resolutions of the Democratic National Convention held at Baltimore in the year 1848, and we pledge ourselves to support and defend the great political doctrines embraced in that platform of the National Democracy.

And what is that platform? The resolutions laid down by the Baltimore Convention in 1848, and which embrace the principles previously laid down in 1840 and 1844. In 1840 Col. Benton himself stood on that platform; in 1844 he stood on it, all but a part of one leg; in 1848 he got on it and traveled on it all the way to the State of New York, and went back to Washington and got off. What were these resolutions? They were the same which were laid down when Gen. Cass was nominated for the Presidency. I will not detain you to explain what they were, for undoubtedly every democrat here is familiar with their words, and it is sufficient to relate that, in the estimation of Democrats, they were resolutions embodying the principles of the Democracy; and Gen. Cass, being the nominee of that convention, was supported by the Democracy of the nation with zeal, except where the Freesoilers had sway, where they got on the Buffalo platform.

From these resolutions we deduce those great principles of government which the Democracy always carries out when in power, and to avoid the difficulty of misinterpretation, the convention at Jefferson went a little further, and adopted this resolution:

2. *Resolved*, That we still cling to the Republican doctrines contained in the celebrated Virginia and Kentucky resolutions, as understood and expounded by their distinguished authors, which contained the platform upon which the Republicans of that period rallied and swept the alien and sedition laws from the statute book, and checked the encroachments of Federalism.

The reason why this resolution was adopted, every thinking man knows. Our government is one of limited powers. The

Whig party has always contended for a petty latitudinous construction of the Constitution, whilst the Democratic party, standing up for its ancient principles, have contended for a strict construction of the Constitution. Within the last few years a tendency was evident to give a rather extended construction to it; and I have heard proclaimed from this stand, doctrines, and by Democrats, too, which forty years ago would have been pronounced first-rate Federal doctrines. An effort was made to secure the election of all officers by the people. They argued that the people, being the source of all power, should elect the Federal officers. It is very well to talk in that manner. Nobody denies the fact that the people is the source of all power, and nobody admits with more pleasure than I do. But we have, in fact, two governments—a Federal Government, composed of States, each one of which is itself possessed of sovereign rights, and the great object of the Democracy has been to prevent the consolidation of these States—to prevent power from extending from the extremities to the centre—to prevent centralization, which has been the bane of all governments heretofore. Hence the party has been anxious to maintain the rights of the States, and to construe the Constitution strictly; and the ancient principles of Jefferson, re-asserted and maintained by the party, have been pronounced as nullification in the extreme. True, some of the politicians of South Carolina deduced the doctrine of nullification from the resolutions of 1798 and 1799, but to avoid that interpretation of them, we adopted them as expounded by their author, who denied the whole doctrine of nullification.

Mr. Jefferson never gave any explanation to those resolutions, but Mr. Madison did, and Col. Benton in his recent speech at Jackson has given the very explanation given by Madison, and the fact that we have incorporated that explanation, excludes all the idea of nullification. Mr. Madison, in the extract referred to, showed what he meant and what the Kentucky and Virginia Legislatures meant by the resolutions 1798 and '99, and therefore to charge us with nullification, when we adopt them as expounded by their author, is to charge us with that which is not true. We deny the fact and require proofs. But to proceed with the platform:

3. *Resolved*, That we will abide by and maintain the several acts recently passed by the Congress of the United States, known as the Compromise Measures, as a final settlement of questions which threatened the harmony and integrity of the Union.

Col. Benton was a member of Congress when these measures were before its consideration, and he opposed with all his might what was called the "Omnibus bill," and he opposed some of the measures when they were afterwards passed upon separately. When, I would ask, has Col. Benton ever spoken in favor of them, either publicly or privately? At this very stand he has said that the fugitive slave law—that law which has healed the dissensions existing throughout the United States—should be amended; and to avoid anything of that kind, the Democracy of Missouri being in convention at Jefferson, unanimously adopted the compromise measures as Democratic measures, and the Democracy of the United States now stand upon that as a part of their platform. This has been their boast, and they have charged upon the Whigs that they were not as sound on the subject of Slavery, and the right of Congress to legislate with regard to slavery in the territories, and upon the compromise measures, as the Democracy. This is one of the corner stones of the party, and I venture to predict that when the two conventions meet at Baltimore, the Democracy will re-assert the same thing, and that the Whigs will not. On these points the Democrats in all the States are sound, and hence the adoption of it in the Jefferson City platform.

But I will pass to the fourth resolution.

4. *Resolved*, That we regard the right of instruction as a vital principle of Republicanism, and Representatives and Senators are bound to obey, in their legislative action, the instructions of their constituents respectively; and the people have a right to instruct their Senators in Congress through the Legislature, and to hold their members in the Legislature accountable for any misrepresentation of their will in giving instructions to Senators, as well as electing Senators.

Now, perhaps this is the sole point in all of this controversy. Col. Benton appealed from these instructions given by the Legislature in 1849. It is not my place to say anything with regard to those instructions, for they are now dead and buried, never again to rise—they have passed among the things that were—they exist no more—they have fulfilled their purpose and are now no longer in force. But Benton appealed from the resolutions—I have never denied the doctrine of the right of appeal—indeed, I believe it to be the duty of a Senator, when he has reason to believe that the Legislature has passed resolutions instructing him and which he thinks will be injurious to the country if he obeys, to appeal from the instructions to the people; but in the mean time it is equally incumbent on him to resign his position that he may not act in an

official capacity in a manner opposed to instructions given. But the resolution quoted asserts the right of a State to instruct her Senators in Congress—and how stands Col. Benton on that point? The fact has been stated over and over again that Col. Benton has sent instructions to the Legislature of Missouri, written in his own hand writing, and that the Legislature passed them at his request.

In 1828, Col. Benton sent a series of instructions addressed to Spencer Pettus, then Secretary of State, in his own hand-writing, and told the Legislature that they were not to cross a T or dot an I, but that they must be passed as sent. Thornton Grimsley and John Bent were then in the Legislature from this county, and so dissatisfied were they with the entire proceedings, that at the time of their passage, they publicly rendered their protest against the resolutions. The object of the resolutions was to instruct Judge Benton, then in the Senate, to vote for the graduation bill; and he came out in a speech denying the right of instruction, which was published, and exists at this day. Col. Benton then wrote a letter to a friend in the upper part of the State, in which he stated that the Legislature *had a right to instruct, and that the Senator was in duty bound to obey the resolutions*, OR RESIGN. If necessary, I shall, on a future occasion, give the name of the gentleman. Col. Benton also says, that if the division in the party is kept up, the Whigs will be returned to the next Legislature, and that the Legislature will not be able to give Mr. Geyer the instructions which it ought. It is a pleasant rule which will effect Mr. Geyer and will not apply to him. But the doctrine of instruction rests on higher authority than Col. Benton. It is the doctrine which is contended for by the party in every State in the Union, and has never been denied until very modern times.

Here is the fifth and last resolution adopted in the platform:

5. *Resolved*, That inscribing the Baltimore resolutions upon our banner, and observing an unflinching devotion to the union of the States, we will hold no political fellowship with the Abolitionists of the North or the Nullifiers of the South, and we discard as unworthy of our confidence all enemies of the union of the States, and all enemies of the union of the Democraey.

Gentlemen know well why we adopted this resolution. Col. Benton and his friends have called our friends Nullifiers, and we have said that we were not supporters of any such doctrine, but our denial of it does not affect him, and he continues to this day to recognize us by that name. He took the right of baptizing us, and still calls us by that name. Well, what did we do? We called

them Abolitionists, Barnburners, and Freesoilers! They urged, very strenuously, that they were not Abolitionists, Barnburners, etc., and we asserted with equal warmth that we were not Nullifiers, and to exclude the conclusion, we said that "we would hold no political fellowship with the Abolitionists of the North nor the fanatics of the South." That met the approbation of every member of the Convention, for every gentleman knew that, when he called us Nullifiers, he knew it was not so, and many of their friends, whom we called Freesoilers, we knew, in point of fact, were not so. But, as a quarrel existed, the object seemed to be to stigmatize such as were engaged in that contest, and nicknames were the most powerful weapons. We passed the resolution, however, to exclude that conclusion, and embodied in it the platform at Jefferson City; and what Democrat within the sound of my voice, be he American, French, English, German, Irish, or whatever nation he be born of, provided he understands what the Democracy professes, who will not subscribe to that platform? He cannot help himself.

But what does Colonel Benton say? He calls for a little platform made to deceive men—a dead fall for a person to get in and fall through and kill himself. I call upon Democrats to say whether it is so or not. Who made the platform? The same men who made the Democracy what it now is, who have sent Colonel Benton to the Senate for thirty years, and gave him the distinction he possesses, made it, and no one else. No Whig—no Nullifier—no, nothing but Democracy.

Now, what are we to do? Are we to let this platform, which meets the approbation of the entire Democracy go? What does Colonel Benton offer in its place? He tears it down—tramples it under his feet and says it was made by unworthy men—by old Whigs turned young Democrats, and unworthy in a convention of honorable men—but what does he propose in its place? Nothing. He tears down but he does not build up, and men have often acquired reputation in different ages of the world for mighty destroyers, but very poor builders. A child with a match may raze this stately edifice to the ground within a brief hour, but it would take the skill of many men many months to again rear it to its present perfection.

Thus harmonized did the convention stand at Jefferson when it adjourned. What then transpired? Delegates from nearly ninety

counties out of a hundred represented in the convention, every man went home perfectly satisfied with the result of its deliberations, and soon the Democracy in every portion of the State were also satisfied. The delegates returned to this city, and the friends of Col. Benton thought it advisable to call a ratification meeting. We also thought it best, being well satisfied, after years of quarrelling and separation, to come together once more, as we were wont to do in olden times, as soon as the delegates come home. Propositions were made for holding a meeting in this very Court House, to ratify that which had been done at Jefferson. The notices published in the papers were written by Judge Blair, a personal friend of Col. Benton, everybody knows. Everybody was satisfied, and every wing of the party was also satisfied with the platform. With respect to all Democrats, the platform said they must be governed by the principles of the party, or they would no longer be recognized as Democrats. But the meeting was held, and Col. Benton says it was an abortion—that only thirty Benton men and fifty-two Democrats, (anti) making eighty-two in all, were present.

Now I have no doubt but that Col. Benton was so informed, but I was there, though I did not participate in the proceedings of the meeting, and I can testify to the truth of the statement. The meeting was not a very large one, for it was a very unpropitious night; yet there were several hundred persons present, mostly the friends of Col. Benton, and Democrats. And who were the actors, leaders, and spokesmen in that meeting? Why, sir, Edward Walsh was Chairman; Mr. John Smith participated, and Judge Blair, a member of the Jefferson City Convention, and who, like a good Democrat, had taken an active part in endeavoring to establish harmony in the party, was spokesman, and he made, too, an excellent speech in favor of the resolutions and nominations which have been published, and a copy of which I have with me. These gentlemen were all particular friends of Col. Benton. During the evening, Mr. Polk also spoke, and the two wings of the party seemed as affectionate as two brothers—all enmities being forgotten, and all animosities being settled.

Such was the harmonious state of feeling in the city and county for several days, and I beg leave to send you the following extract from the St. Louis Union, the organ of the friends of Col. Benton:

# UNION DEMOCRATIC MEETING.

Pursuant to a call published in the Democratic city papers, a large meeting convened at the Rotunda on Saturday evening, April 24th.

The meeting was called to order by Lyman D. Norris, on whose nomination, Edward Walsh, Esq., was elected President of the meeting.

On nomination by B. Gratz Brown, Messrs. Robert Campell, Walter B. Morris, John M. Wimer, R. T. Edmonson, Hugh A. Garland, and James Castello, were elected Vice Presidents.

On motion of Montgomery Blair, Messrs. Isaac H. Sturgeon and P. A. Ladue were appointed Secretaries.

The President explained the object of the meeting; and, on call, M. Blair, Esq., addressed the Democracy in explanation of the position in which the Democracy had been placed. There was no occasion for further dissensions in the Democratic party in Missouri, and he regards the approbation which he had every where heard expressed of the action of the Jefferson City Convention, as a guarantee and an earnest that the Democracy would present, in the coming contest, a united front, not only in this State, but throughout the Union; since the same questions which had agitated the Democracy in this State, had agitated it elsewhere; and they were now settled, or of no practical moment to the country. He also explained, briefly, and to the entire satisfaction of the meeting, the action of the convention at Jefferson City.

On motion of Joseph Magahan, a committee of five was appointed by the President to report resolutions expressive of the sense of this meeting. The Committee consisted of Messrs. Jos. Magahan, John Smith, Lyman D. Norris, B. Gratz Brown, and John Black.

Trusten Polk, Esq., being loudly called for, came forward and addressed the meeting. It gave him pleasure, said he, such as he felt on no other occasion, to have met at Jefferson City the representatives of the Democracy fresh from the people. They came up there in the spirit of harmony and concession, and that was the feeling of the people.

In this spirit the convention selected their officers, adopted the platform now before the people, and made their nominations for State offices. Not every one in the convention got his first choice; but every one got such men nominated as he could vote for and support as Democrats. His explanation of the action of the Jefferson City Convention gave great satisfaction to the Democracy.

The committee appointed for that purpose reported the following resolutions, which were unanimously adopted, to wit:

*Whereas*, The Democratic party of the State of Missouri, in convention assembled at the capital in the city of Jefferson, on the 5th day of April, 1852,

adopted resolutions declaratory of the principles which direct and govern the action of the Democracy of our State; and whereas, various candidates were selected by that convention for the votes of the people, to fill the various offices of our State, to represent the Democracy in the National Convention to be holden at Baltimore, and to act as Electors in the ensuing Presidential election; therefore, be it—

*Resolved*, By the Democracy of St. Louis county, in mass meeting assembled, that we recognize in the principles enunciated by the convention, the ancient landmarks of Democracy, and they meet with our most hearty approbation and concurrence.

*Resolved*, That we regard all the nominations made by the convention for the various offices as judicious and proper, and we hereby pledge them, at the ensuing election our cordial support.

On motion of Judge Blair, it was

*Resolved*, That the Democratic Central Committees appointed at the meetings held in the Rotunda on the morning and evening of the 8th of January last, be and are hereby requested to act together.

On motion of N. Ranney, it was ordered that the Democratic city papers be requested to publish the proceedings of this meeting.

On motion, the meeting adjourned.

EDWARD WALSH, *President*.

ISAAC H. STURGEON, }  
P. A. LADUE, } *Secretaries*.

The party was united in the county—the Convention at Jefferson had united them in the State—all was harmonious. What change took place then? An effort was made to unite the party in the different Congressional Districts. The Democracy, which met on the evening of the 8th of January, designated Cape Girardeau and the first Monday in May as the proper place and time for holding the District Convention, for the nomination of a suitable candidate for Congress from this District, and appointed to it fourteen delegates, but had designated no time or place for the Convention. With but one exception, the papers throughout the District called for the Convention to be held at Cape Girardeau. Meetings were held in most parts of the counties, concurring in time and place of meeting, and appointed delegates to the convention. Matters still moved on in harmony, and with one exception, all were satisfied. The St. Louis Union did not publish the call for the Convention, and I have in my scrap book, the Statement by the Union, that the Convention, at Cape Girardeau would be an Anti-Benton Convention, and that no true Democrat would be there, and that an Anti-Benton man would be nominated. But gentlemen, observe what was afterwards done by the Union, and that wing of the party. Their Delegates were not to go to Cape Girardeau. A meeting was held by them in the county of Jeffer-

son, and they designated the town of Ste. Genevieve as the place, and the 24th of April as the day for holding the District Convention—that being the day we had appointed in Ste. Genevieve, to select delegates to attend the Cape Girardeau Convention. As I previously stated, fourteen delegates had been appointed by the united Democracy of this county to attend the Cape Girardeau Convention, and the friends of Colonel Benton had also appointed fourteen delegates to attend a convention of which time and place were not mentioned.

The time rolled around, and on the first Monday of May the convention assembled at Cape Girardeau. Fifteen out of the twenty counties in the District were represented fairly by delegates regularly appointed, with the exception of a few proxies, who had been instructed to vote for Judge Bowlin as the candidate, although he did not desire the nomination.

Fourteen delegates left this city for Cape Girardeau on one boat, and the friends of Colonel Benton numbering twenty-three, left for the same place on another. The meeting on the 8th of January, held by his friends, had appointed but fourteen delegates to a convention, but they left for Cape Girardeau with twenty-three. On the Convention's organization, the friends of Colonel Benton made an effort to control its actions by this means. Giving them them all the voice in the convention that they claimed, numbered twenty-three from St. Louis county, one from Jefferson, one from Scott, one from Madison one from Cape Girardeau, there were twenty-seven, and the delegations of the Democracy, according to the official report, numbered twenty-nine, all of whom appeared in the convention, with proper credentials. What was the object of that convention? It would be well to remember that great dissension had existed in the party, and at Jefferson City it had been united. This fact was spoken of, and the Democracy with one mind, said let us here unite the party of the District on the Jefferson Platform, and if we do, with the majority which we have, we must triumph. We felt that we must sacrifice something mutually to effect an entire union, and elect our candidate. We said to the friends of Colonel Benton, name to us a man who will subscribe to the Jefferson City platform, and he will be the nominee; but we were told by the gentlemen that nobody would answer for Colonel Benton. The convention at last met, and within a few moments agreed to disagree. The friends of Colonel Benton withdrew, held

a meeting, and in a few moments nominated him and went on their way rejoicing. The Democratic convention met, laid down proper principles, and I have the honor to be the nominee of that convention.

I ask now, in all candor, if we could possibly have nominated Col. Benton for Congress? Who could answer for him when the question was asked, does he stand on the Jefferson City platform? Will he abide the action of this convention? Was any one authorized by him to answer? What could we have done in the case otherwise than we did? I pledge my word as a man, that the convention was anxious to unite the party. We had no prominent man on our side, whom we cared about electing, more than we did about uniting the party. That was the object with us, but we could not consistently have nominated him, and subsequent facts proved the truth of our belief. These gentlemen—friends of Col. Benton—these seceders—returned to this city, and in a very few days a letter was written by him, which was any thing but flattering to them, and in which he stated that they had acted without authority in nominating him—that they had no right to speak a word in his behalf, in any manner whatever. Suppose, then, gentlemen, we had nominated Col. Benton—that we had for the party's sake carried the spirit of concession so far as to have sacrificed all our feelings, and made him the nominee, in order to effect a union of the party, in what a ridiculous position would we have been placed, when he published his letter stating that we had acted without authority in nominating him—that they had no right to speak a word in his behalf, in any manner whatever. We are not disposed, gentlemen, to disgrace ourselves to promote the views and prospects of either one side or the other. We were actuated by principle. We acted in a spirit of concession, but his nomination could not have been effected—it was not done. Colonel Benton would not submit. What was the result? He announced that he would appeal to the people. Previously his friends held a meeting in Jefferson county, for the purpose of effecting his nomination. A few days since I made a speech in that county, and I endeavored to decide the question as to the number of delegates present at the meeting which nominated him, as it had been currently reported that there was only five persons. I mentioned this fact to them, and asked to know the truth!

of the statement. A gentleman present, who was one of the number, stated that the report was incorrect, that there were more, and after considerable equivocation, admitted there were but few persons present. This, however, was afterwards denied by most of the meeting, who re-asserted that five was the extent of their number. We, however, compromised the number on seven and a half, and his friend appeared to be more than satisfied with the arrangement.

You are aware that Col. Benton afterwards went to Jefferson, and there made a speech on the 15th of this month. It was followed by the Whig Convention held on the 18th, between which dates he spent his time in Cape Girardeau, never announcing himself a candidate until the Whigs had made their nomination, and he then went to a Whig press to get his handbills printed, although there was a Democratic press in the county. These handbills announced him as a candidate for this district, and they were circulated by the Whig delegates to that convention, and by whom one of them was given to me. And to render the evidence of this conspiracy still more clear, Col. Benton returned to this city on the same boat with the Whig delegation. He has not heretofore been in the habit of attending Whig meetings, and I desire to know why he was there, and why, also, he was present at the Whig meeting on Saturday last at Manchester? Who published his Jackson speech?—Was it the Union, his accredited organ? or was it the Times, a first-rate Democratic paper? It was neither, but the Republican issued it first, and some say that the copy of the speech was in their hands prior to his departure from the city to deliver it. They certainly appear to have had means of knowledge ahead of the other papers. Although the Republican may be a very good organ for the Whig party, I hardly think it a reliable one for the Democratic. Chambers and Knapp and Paschal may be the head of the Whig party of the State, but I do not consider them very good leaders in the Democratic ranks. Who, then, are the friends of Col. Benton in this district?

Gentlemen, the best friends, and those who speak most in his favor, are the Whigs; not, however, that they intend to vote for him, for their only object is to encourage him in his cause, and thus divide the party, bring defeat upon me, and elect a Whig. Undoubtedly Col. Benton knows the effect which must result from

this. He knows that he cannot, under any circumstances, at the present time, be elected to Congress.

It is impossible that he, with his intelligence, should be ignorant of the fact, and he is well informed upon this subject. Then who is the conspirator? Is it the regular nominee of a regularly called Democratic Convention, unknown and humble though he may be in this district, without name or fame, or is it the other candidate, who has announced himself as an independent candidate, regardless of the welfare of the party, and who will pursue his own way, come what will? I say that the conspirator is Benton, it cannot be us.

It is known to every man that the Congressional nominations have been made throughout the State. In the district formerly represented by Phelps, the Jefferson City platform was endorsed by the nominating convention. In the district formerly represented by Bay it was also adopted. In the district formerly represented by Green, and now by Miller, the same action was taken, and in the districts in which Judge Birch and myself were nominated, the conventions also adopted the Jefferson platform.

In the display of the names of candidates at the head of the columns of the Union, what names of the nominees for Congress are to be seen? Mr. Green and Mr. Birch do not appear, and as to my own name, I had no reason to expect that it would appear—Col. Benton's being announced as the candidate from this District. Why are Green and Birch not announced? Are they not the nominees of Democratic conventions, as well as those whom they have announced? Did not the convention which nominated Lamb adopt the Jefferson platform, which Col. Benton has thought fit to stigmatize? If this course is pursued, the result must be that one-half of the State ticket will be lost. Dr. Brown, Buffington and Morrison will be defeated, because they are not the political friends of Col. Benton. Col. Benton knows that such will be the result. We had been in hopes that he would come back and give us the help of his name, talents and fame, and place himself on the broad platform of the Democracy, that he might again be elevated to that position which he occupied for so many years. But he will not do so; he will rule in his own way, or he will ruin in his own way.

Gentlemen, I shall make it my business to go into every county in this District, that the Democracy may know who is for organi-

zation and who is against it—who is Democratic and who is anti-Democratic, and to see if the people are so wedded to a man that they have forgotten their party principles, and to ask if it is proper in a District where there is four thousand Democratic majority, a Whig candidate should be elected to Congress by a minority vote, who will represent in its halls a minority of his District. I call upon the Democracy of this county to look into these things. I call upon men who are here—Americans, Germans, Irish, and all citizens who compose the strength of the Democracy, to examine into these things, and decide the issue between Col. Benton and the Democracy of which I am the humble representative. He runs as an independent candidate, upon his individual qualifications, and I as the nominee of a convention. But I am not an advocate of conventions; I sustain them because they are necessary evils, and when fairly conducted, are productive of harmony and success; but as long as we are governed by conventions, we must take the results. At this very day, delegates are appointed who are to meet in this city, on Saturday next, to make nominations for the Legislature and county offices. Who created these delegates? Obviously the Democratic party, and the candidates whom they shall nominate will be the candidates supported by the party. Now, I ask by what reason should I be made an exception to the rule? Have I not the same rights as other men in the party? Am I not in every way eligible to any office under the government? Then I see no reason why I should be crushed and borne down by Col. Benton and his friends, when many of them claim to be sustained because they are nominees.

I shall proclaim this fact in every county in this District, and let the Democracy decide that question, and I know what will be the response in nineteen out of the twenty counties. I do not know but that in this county the friends of Col. Benton may be strong enough to crush the Democracy, but on the whole he will find himself in an awful minority. The election will make the fact known that the Democracy of this District will stand upon the Jefferson platform, and I do not despair, even in this county, but that he may find himself in the minority also. But I know what it will be in Jefferson county, where I had the honor of speaking recently to a most enthusiastic assembly of the Democracy, and who unanimously adopted the Jefferson platform. I was received

in a manner that astonished me, having never before occupied a position similar to that which I now do.

Gentlemen, a greater part of my life has been passed in this county, and I am well known in your midst. Those who know me can testify that I have always been true to my friends; that I have always felt for suffering humanity; that the stranger coming to this land has always found in me a warm friend to the fullest extent of my abilities. I have always expressed these feelings; but I call upon you to look back upon the past career of Col. Benton, and point out where he has ever breathed a word in favor of human liberty in any quarter of the globe. Since he has been in the Senate chamber, the condition of the world has entirely changed. South America, from monarchical institutions, has changed into republics; Mexico has become a republic; Ireland, Germany and Hungary, and all Europe is struggling for liberty, and although the voices of many distinguished men have been lifted up in behalf of their efforts, Col. Benton has kept quiet on these matters, notwithstanding he is supported more warmly by adopted citizens than anybody else.

A few years ago, when the Irish were borne down by the power of Great Britain, and the Irish Americans organized the repeal associations in all parts of the country, for the purpose of sending relief to their suffering countrymen, did Col. Benton afford them help? No! I remember well when I was President of the repeal association, that an effort was made to obtain aid from him, or his influence, and it was treated in a manner which was thought at the time to be very unkind. I desire our foreign citizens to look back on these things, and decide whether he is a friend to the interests of suffering Europe.

There are many other points, fellow-citizens, which I would like to speak of, but the lateness of the hour precludes the possibility to-night. On my return from the other counties of this District, I will take occasion to speak of some important matters of national politics, and will explain my views on the question of the homestead bill, intervention, and other questions which are now attracting the attention of the different States; and I will also speak of the course which I shall pursue, if elected, with regard to matters of local interest which will be brought before the consideration of Congress; and I give you my assurance that if I should be placed in that honorable position by your suffrages—which I have reason to believe I shall be—I shall do the best which my judgment dictates for the interest of the State and nation. (Applause.)













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